

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----056148 101347Z /53
O 101312Z MAR 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7913
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1053

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S REACTION TO US-UK PLANS FOR ALL
PARTIES MEETING

REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 1033, B) STATE 06429, C) STATE 06458 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: AFTER PRESENTATION OREF B NIGHT MARCH 9 IN ARUSHA
(SUMMARIZED REF A), PRESIDENT NYERERE TENTATIVELY INDICATED
HIS WILLINGNESS CONTINUE COOPERATE WITH US AND UK IN SEEKING
RHODESIA SOLUTION, INCLUDING SUPPORTING ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE.
NYERERE'S DOUBTS ABOUT UK INTENTIONS WERE SOMEWHAT ASSUAGED
BY MARCH 8 LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN WHICH WAS
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PRESENTED BY UK ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER AT TIMELY MOMENT.
HOWEVER, NYERERE'S CONDITION FOR COOPERATION IS UK PUBLIC
STATEMENT THAT SALISBURY AGREEMENT IS "GROSSLY INADEQUATE".
NYERERE MAY RETREAT A BIT FROM RELATIVELY FORTHCOMING POSITION
WITH WHICH DISCUSSION ENDED. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE USE OF "GROSSLY
INADEQUATNY PHRASE IN SECURITY COUNCIL BY UK PERMREP RICHARD
OR PUBLICLY BY PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN OR FOREIGN SECRETARY

OWEN WOULD HOLD NYERERE. I URGE THAT WE MAKE EVERY EFFORT GET UK TO MOUTH MAGIC WORDS. END SUMMARY.

2. ACTING UK HICOM STRONG AND I MADE WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE HAIR-RAISING CHARTER AIRCRAFT FLIGHT TO ARUSHA TO SEE NYERERE NIGHT OF MARCH 9. MEETING LASTER 75 MINUTES. PRESENT ON TANZANIAN SIDE WERE PRESIDENT NYERERE, JUNIOR FOREIGN MINISTER ALI FOUM, FOREIGN MINISTRY AFRICAN DIRECTOR MWASAKAFYUKA, PRESS SECRETARY SAMMY MDEE, AND PRIVATE SECRETARY BUTIKU.

3. I MADE REF B PRESENTATION AND DID NOT FIND IT NECESSAR TO DRAW ON REF C (FOR WHICH NONETHELESS VERY GRATEFUL). NYERERE'S INITIAL REACTION WAS VERY NEGATIVE. HE REPEATED HIS DISTRUST OF BRITISH BONA FIDES, SAYING THAT THE PROPOSED INVITATION TO ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE (A COPY OF WHICH I GAVE HIM) MIGHT HAVE BEEN ALL RIGHT A FEW WEEKS AGO. HOWEVER, WORLD ATTENTION WAS NOW FOCUSED ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND UK REFUSAL TO CONDEMN THIS MADE IT OBVIOUS THAT CONFERENCE WAS NOTHING MORE THAN AN EFFORT TO MARRY REMNANTS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN (A-AP) TO INTERNAL SETTLEMENT SO THAT UK COULD SUPPORT LATTER.

4. NYERERE SAID WITH SOME HEAT THAT HE WOULD HAVE NO PART OF SUCH AND EFFORT. IF HE DID, HE WOULD LOOK RIDICULOUS TO THE REST OF AFRICA. THE UK TALKED ABOUT ITS POLITICAL PROBLEMS, SAID NYERERE. HE HAD THEM TOO. TURNING TO ME NYERERE SAID THAT HE AND PRESIDENT CARTER HAD AGREED ON THE A-AP AND THE ONLY
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SUPPORT HE WOULD GIVE US WAS FOR THAT AND NOTHING ELSE. IF WE NO LONGER SUPPORTED THE A-AP, LET'S JUST DROP IT. HE HAD THOUGHT EVERYTHING WAS IN ORDER: THE US, THE UK, THE UN, THE FRONT LINE (FL, THE OAU, AND ALL OF AFRICA HAD SUPPORTED THE PLAN. HE HAD BEEN PREPARED TO SAY TO THE USSR AND THE PRC THAT IF THEY DIDN'T SUPPORT IT, THEY COULD "GO TO HELL".

5. HOWEVER, LONDON'S REACTION TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAD MESSED UP EVERYTHING. THE TASK NOW WAS TO LAY THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN THE GRAVE ONCE AND FOR ALL. THAT TASK WAS ALL THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN AT THE MOMENT.

6. I POINTED OUT STRONGLY THAT THE INVITATION TO THE CONFERENCE SPECIFICALLY CITED THE UK-US PROPOSALS OF SEPTEMBER, I.E., THE A-AP, WHILE NOT EVEN MENTIONING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. I EXPLAINED AGAIN THE REASONS FOR THE WORDING AND SAID THAT THE US HAD CLEARLY NOT ENDORSED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. I THOUGHT ALL OF US HAD BEEN TELLING BISHOP MUZOREWA THE SAME THING NYERERE HAD, I.E., THAT THE BISHOP HAD ACCOMPLISHED SOMETHING BUT HAD JOTRBOTTEN NEARLY ENOUGH. WE, TOO, WANTED TO KEEP A ROLE OPEN FOR THE BISHOP AND OTHER INTERNAL NATIONALISTS. THIS, I THOUGHT, WAS ALL THERE WAS TO OUR "SYNESS" ABOUT WHICH

NYERERE WAS APPARENTLY SO DEPRESSED.

7. AFTER MUCH MORE DISCUSSION, NYERERE MODIFIED HIS POSITION A LITTLE. HE STRESSED AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT HE WOULD NOT BE A PARTY TO "MIXING UP" THE A-AP AND THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE WOULDN'T HELP CONFUSE HIS OWN AFRICAN COLLEAGUES. HE COULDN'T AFFORD TO. IF YOU WANT TO DROP BACK, HE SAID, GO AHEAD; AFRICA WILL KILL THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. LATER, MAYBE, WE CAN GO BACK AND SEE IF WE CAN PICK UP THE PIECES OF THE A-AP. I ASKED IF HE MEANT THAT HE THOUGHT THE INVITATION (WHICH HE KEPT RE-READING) WOULD BE SATISFACTORY AT SOME LATER DATE, DIVORCED FROM THE PRESENT SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE. HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE BUT THAT IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT BRITISH POSITION HE COULD NOT HELP WITH THE CONFERENCE NOW WITHOUT LOOKING COMPLETELY RIDICULOUS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1053

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FORGSEMBASSY

8. WITH WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE SUPERB TIMING, ACTING HICOM STRONG CHOSE THIS MOMENT TO HAND OVER A LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN DATED MARCH 8, IN RESPONSE TO NYERERE'S EARLIER LETTER TO CALLAGHAN. NYERERE READ THE LETTER CAREFULLY, THOUGH A FEW MOMENTS, AND ANNOUNCED TO THE OTHER TANZANIAN OFFICIALS, "IT IS A GOOD LETTER." HE PONDERED A BIT LONGER, PICKED UP THE COPY OF THE INVITATION THAT I HAD GIVEN HIM, AND SAID, "ON THE BASIS OF THESE TWO PIECES OF PAPER, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO TRY TO MAKE SOMETHING WORK."

9. NYERERE THEN SEIZED ON WHAT HE APPARENTLY CONSIDERED A SATISFACTORY REAFFIRMATION OF UK COMMITMENT TO THE A-AP IN THE CALLAGHAN LETTER. (STRONG FEELS THAT HE CANNOT GIVE ME COPY OF TEXT OF LETTER FROM HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, BUT FROM HASTY READING I WOULD JUDGE THERE WERE REASONABLE GOUNDS IN THE LETTER FOR
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NYERERE TO FEEL REASSURED.) NYERERE COUPLED REASSURANCES IN THE LETTER WITH AN EARLIER PART OF OUR DISCUSSION WHEN WE HAD ALL CLEARLY AGREED THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS CERTAINLY INADEQUATE. HE MOVED ON TO SAY THAT IF OWEN OR RICHARD WOULD PUBLICLY SAY WHAT WE ARE ALL PRIVATELY AGREED UPON, I.E., THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS "GROSSLY INADEQUATE", WE COULD "LAY THE GHOST" OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND MOVE ON TO SOMETHING CONSTRUCTIVE LIKE THE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE. "YES," HE CONCLUDED, "I COULD INSTRUCT SALIM TO HELP WITH SOMETHING LIKE THAT."

10. ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS NYERERE SEEMED TO BE WORRIED THAT HE HAD GONE FURTHER THAN HE WANTED TO AND HE REVERTED TO EMPHASIZING THE OVERRIDING NEED TO "LAY THE GHOST" OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BEFORE ANYTHING ELSE COULD BE DONE. "DON'T WORRY THE BISHOP," NYERERE SAID, "THE BISHOP WILL COME ALONG WITH ANYTHING WE AGREE TO. HE HAS NO CHOICE. SMITH IS SOMETHING ELSE, BUT WHAT WE NEED TO DO NOW IS TO REUNITE AFRICA."

11. IN RESPONSE TO STRONG'S QUESTION AS TO JUST WHAT NYERERE WANTED TO SEE DONE IN NEW YORK, NYERERE SAID HIS FIRST DESIRE WAS TO SEE THE UK "CONDEMN" THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE ASKED WHY THE UK COULD NOT SAY THAT IT HAD WAITED UNTIL IT HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT BEFORE SAYING ANYTHING, BUT NOW IT HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO SAY THAT IT WAS "GROSSLY INADEQUATE". NYERERE ADDED, "GIVE ME A BIT OF CREDIBILITY. MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO SUPPORT YOU."

12. THE MEETING ENDED ON A POSITIVE NOTE WITH LAUGHTER ABOUT VARIOUS SWAHILI, AMERICAN, IRISH, AND EVEN ENGLISH INCANTATIONS FOR "LAYING GHOSTS". NYERERE SAID TO STRONG AND ME: "TELL THEM WHAT I THINK AND LET'S SEE IF WE CAN MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF IT." UPON OUR DEPARTURE, NYERERE IMMEDIATELY WENT INTO A SESSION WITH HIS ADVISORS.

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13. COMMENT: NYERERE STILL WANTS TO DO BUSINESS WITH US. HIS SUSPICIONS OF THE UK HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT ALLAYED BY CALLAGHAN'S LETTER, AND HE SEIZED ON IT TO KEEP THE DOOR OPEN. NYERERE IS VERY RESPONSIVE TO WORDS, NOT LEAST HIS OWN, AND IF WE CAN GET THE BRITISH PUBLICLY TO USE THE PHRASE "GROSSLY INADEQUATE" IN DESCRIBING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, NYERERE'S INSTINCT TOWARD COOPERATION WILL BE ENHANCED.

14. I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT NEITHER WE NOR THE UK QUOTE NYERERE ON ANY OF THE ABOVE TO OTHER AFRICANS -- AT LEAST UNTIL AND UNLESS HE IS SATISFIED THAT THE GHOST OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT HAS BEEN LAID. IF HE THINKS WE ARE TRYING TO USE HIM, HE WILL BACK OFF AGAIN, AND HE MAY DO SO ANYWAY IF OWEN CONTINUES TO REITERATE THAT HE WILL "NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE" THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT.

14. AMBASSADOR SALIM MAY NOW BE THE KEY. IF WE CAN WORK OUT WITH HIM EVEN A SHAKY FORMULA FOR HANDLING THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE AND GOING ON TO THE CONFERENCE, NYERERE WILL PROBABLY GIVE IT HIS SUPPORT.

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